/174 cont./

young Bakairi Lucita paraded around in Vogel's brown woolen, waistcoated pants, he looked like a monastery pupil from "Uhlenhorst." It was believed that the Indians had borrowed the tonsure from the example of the padres, which would certainly be in keeping with their disposition, but the tonsure was in America before the Catholic priests. It was extraordinarily widespread among the primitive peoples of South America, and since the Portuguese called the shorn ones "Coroados," from coroa, crown, tonsure, wholly disparate tribes were confusingly considered with the same designation. Father Dobrizhoffer reports that among the Abipon of Paraguay the tonsure was regarded as a mark of the higher caste. There was no question of this among our tribes. Every boy received the tonsure at puberty, and Antonio told me that he had wept and was very rebellious when his father shaved the spot bald for him for the first time. The habit was described to me as an ancient custom of the grandfathers. People were not always very careful about shaving. Among older people in particular, the tonsure often had bristly hair growing over it. It was said, one bothers about it less "when one is old and father and mother are dead."

The vain young men among the Bakairi also knew how to provide themselves with a full head of curls by means of wooden curlers. Small pieces of cork-like wood, /175/ cut with a shell, covered the head, the tufts of hair that were to be curled lay clamped in the sticks. This beauty treatment, however, seemed to be practiced only rarely.

The women wore their hair on the forehead in the same manner, except a little fuller, but on the sides and in back it hung down loosely; over the back it usually reached to the tips of the shoulder blades. The ears were usually covered, and the hair falling down in back rested on the shoulders. Thus one may probably assume that the tonsure of the men is nothing more than a result of the distinction in the hair style customary for the two sexes. The man shortened his hair in the back and on the sides, the woman only over the forehead. The man, in order to facilitate

/190 cont./

characteristically, were on his arm the two tattoo lines of the Mehinaki women, painted on, to be sure, and not tattooed. I believe, but cannot maintain and prove, that there is a connection here with the system of matriarchy. According to the Indian conception, the sons belong to the tribe of the mother, and in every case they visit the tribal village of the mother under peaceful circumstances. It is certain that the Mehinaki women and the Mehinaki pots have their home stamp.

II. Sexualia.

The devices among men and women are not coverings. Protection of the mucous membrane and benefits with the onset of puberty. Origin among the women, however, as bandage and cushion, among the men as gymnastic treatment for phimosis.

Our natives do not have any secret body parts. They joke about them in word and picture with such complete ingenuousness that it would be foolish to call them indecent. They envy us for our clothing as though for a valuable ornament, they put it on and wear it in our company with such utter disregard of our simplest rules and such complete misunderstanding of all the devices designed for them that their paradisiacal naiveté is most convincingly proved. Some of them celebrate /191/ the onset of puberty for both sexes with noisy folk festivals, in which general attention and boisterousness is demonstratively concerned with the "private parts." If a man wishes to tell a stranger that he is the father of another or a woman wishes to introduce herself as the mother of a child, they gravely acknowledge themselves as worthy begetter: in that, with the most spontaneous and natural explanation in the world, they grasp the organs from which life issues.

Hence it is not possible to understand these people properly unless we leave aside our ideas of "clothing," unless we take them as they are and as they prove themselves in their own way. Keeping in mind as our point of departure the fact that they have

/940 cont./

600 dangers that surrounded them. Pregnancy, *mudua*, was
893 recognized by the cessation of the menstrual periods. When
202 the abdomen of the pregnant woman began to attain visible
proportions, a diet based on vegetal foods and fish was initiated.
844 As the time of delivery drew near, a separate section was
[784] built inside the house; the parturient was segregated and remained *uaiki*. Female relatives helped in the delivery under the direction of an experienced woman. The parturient gave
[895] birth sitting on her heels. In difficult cases they washed her abdomen and sides with a hot infusion of cotton leaves. The umbilical cord was cut by the parturient herself or by her husband, and it was buried along with the placenta outside the
949 house. After the birth, *eraeili*, the child was washed and
784 handed over to the parents; later it would be given the name
946 of some dead relative. During the birth and for some time
[553] afterward, the child and its parents remained in a state of *uaiki*. The end of the seclusion was signaled by the first
896 menstrual period of the parturient, and it was marked by a
796 feast called *tadaumito*. The restoration of the parents and the
784 child to the bosom of the community was accomplished by means of a feast called *gabicoli*.

When children reached puberty they were secluded, *uaiki*, for a period of several months. They could not come out in daylight, and they were fed and looked after by their
[856] relatives. It was believed that the greater or lesser duration of the young people's *uaiki* period would lead to their better
[622] or worse physical constitution. On the other hand, a chief's son had to remain in seclusion longer than usual. The period
881 of seclusion began for boys with the ritual of the perforation of
304 the ears (usually undergone in groups). Girls had their ears
784 perforated immediately after birth, and their seclusion was marked by the advent of the first menses. The end of the *uaiki*
784 state was also celebrated with the *tadaumito*. The girls then
881 began to wear *aluri*, that is to say, triangular genital coverings
796 about three centimeters square made of tree bark.
881
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placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that the feathers swung one on each side of the head. Although the *pdiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had ritual meaning. The *pdiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *wakúna* vine. The *pdiko* was used by boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *pdiko* made people strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairi did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairi kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpia" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpia" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairi diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places. The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards, turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairi cultivated bitter manioc, *ópa;* sweet manioc, *tsiéj;*

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844 with a bamboo sliver. The placenta was wrapped in a piece of cotton cloth and buried because it was believed that if it were picked at by birds it would cause sickness and misfortune to the mother and child. The child was then washed, wrapped, [853] and given to the mother. Later it was given the name of one of its ancestors.

846 During the seclusion period the mother and child were believed to be in a state of ritual danger (*wenãri*). They were not permitted to go out in daylight and had to be fed and cared for by the female relatives. The first menses released the mother and child from seclusion, this release being known as *tadawadõ*. Shortly afterward the father invited the villagers to a ceremony (*ãtãkenãi*) [533] during which the *nakipíra* and *tadinawa* flutes were [535] played and only the women danced. By means of this ceremony the mother was reintegrated into the life of the family and the village.

857 After 3 years of age both boys and girls began to 868 copy their elders, the boys playing with bows and arrows and the girls with spindles. By the time the boys and girls reached puberty they knew how to perform most adult activities.

PUBERTY RITES

881 When the girls had their first menses and the boys reached the age of 13 or 14, they had to go into seclusion (*posepíra*) for a period of 2 months to a year. It was believed that the longer the young people stayed in seclusion the stronger they would become physically. The longer periods of seclusion were also believed to enhance the prestige of the family. The boys and girls were not permitted to come out in daylight, and were fed and cared for by their parents. While the boys and girls were in seclusion they made pots and baskets for family use.

877 With boys the seclusion was inaugurated by an 304 ear-piercing ceremony. A number of men with sons of about the same age would perform this rite collectively before invited guests. After eating [535] and drinking, the *poinadõ* song and dance were performed. The boys were now in a state of *wenãri*, ritual danger, and were secluded immediately after this rite. The girls' ears were pierced when they were babies, but the ear piercing of the boys corresponded to the period of the first menses of the girls.

891 The release from seclusion was signalized by the feast of *tadawaito*. The parents of the young people accumulated much food and went on a big hunt on the day before the feast. The chief and all the villagers were invited to the ceremony, during which all the Bacairi songs and dances were performed and the young people were presented gifts by the villagers. The girls would now take the strings of beads from around their waists and wear them around their necks and their mothers would give them cotton cords which they put around their hips and to which the *aluri* were attached. The boys and girls were now eligible for marriage.

MARRIAGE (TODOHOKŬINLE)

584 Marriages were arranged by parents or by older brothers or sisters. The father and mother of the boy, for instance, would take presents of ornaments and food to the parents of the girl. If the parents of the girl accepted the gifts it meant that they favored the marriage, and if they refused it meant that the suitor was not acceptable. 585 The marriage ceremony took place in the girl's home, the date being arranged by the parents. At the girl's house the young couple were seated side by side with linked arms. They were then given advice by their respective parents and relatives. Marriage was not considered a period of ritual danger, nor were extensive feasts given. It appears to have been an affair involving only the families of the young couple.

BURIAL (EPIODĬLE)

764 The body was painted, ornaments were put on, and then the body was wrapped in a hammock and buried in a grave with the feet to the east so that the face would be toward the rising sun. 765 Although old and worn objects were burnt, most of the property of the dead was shared among the relatives. The part of the house occupied by the dead person was washed, and clean sand was sprinkled on the floor. There was a mourning period (*logúno*) of 1 month, during which the immediate relatives were in a state of *wánli*.[1]

SHAMANISM

775 When a person died, the ghost (*kudópe*) went into the sky or into the water or sometimes wandered upon the earth. Ghosts of the dead often

[1] [ie. a state of ritual danger]

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kudeiti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [562] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kudeiti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man 527 to man asking for a song leader. The man who 533 took the offered corn husk then began the *pawaisdri*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairi and how it made the people strong and healthy.

● 891 The *ranasgéro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 904 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poiwado* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *maAulawdri* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [529] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

286 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 571 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *yumaikima*. This